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Secretary Hay's Second Note to the Powers Regarding the New Intergovernmental Peace Conference.

WASHINGTON, D. C., December 16, 1904.

To the representatives of the United States accredited to the governments signatories to the acts of the Hague Conference, 1899.

Sir: By the circular instructions dated October 21, 1904, the representatives of the United States accredited to the several governments which took part in the Peace Conference held at The Hague in 1899, and which joined in signing the act thereof, were instructed to bring to the notice of those governments certain resolutions adopted by the Interparliamentary Union at its annual conference held at St. Louis in September last, advocating the assembling of a second Peace Conference, to continue the work of the first, and were directed to ascertain to what extent those governments were disposed to act in the matter.

The replies so far received indicate that the proposition has been received with general favor. No dissent has found expression. The governments of Austria-Hungary, Denmark, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Luxemburg, Mexico, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Sweden and Norway and Switzerland exhibit sympathy with the purposes of the proposal, and generally accept it in principle, with a reservation in most cases of future consideration of the date of the conference and the program of subjects for discussion. The replies of Japan and Russia conveyed in like terms a friendly recognition of the spirit and purposes of the invitation, but on the part of Russia the reply was accompanied by the statement that, in the existing condition of things in the Far East, it would not be practicable for the imperial government at this moment to take part in such a conference. While this reply, tending as it does to cause some postponement of the proposed second conference, is deeply regretted, the weight of the motive which induces it is recognized by this government and probably by others. Japan made the reservation only that no action should be taken by the conference relative to the present war.

Although the prospect of an early convocation of an august assembly of representatives of the nations in the interests of peace and harmony among them is deferred for the time being, it may be regarded as assured so soon as the interested powers are in a position to agree upon a date and place of meeting and to join in the formulation of a general plan for discussion. The President is much gratified at the cordial reception of his overtures. He feels that in eliciting the common sentiment of the various governments in favor of the principle involved and of the objects sought to be attained a notable step has been taken toward eventual success.

Pending a definite agreement for meeting, when circumstances shall permit, it seems desirable that a comparison of views should be had among the participants as to the scope and matter of the subjects to be brought before the second conference. The invitation put forth by the government of the United States did not attempt to do more than indicate the general topics which the final act of the first conference of The Hague relegated,

as unfinished matters, to consideration by a future conference — adverting, in connection with the important subject of the inviolability of private property in naval warfare, to the like views expressed by the Congress of the United States in its resolutions adopted April 28, 1904, with the added suggestion that it may be desirable to consider and adopt a procedure by which states non-signatory to the original act of the Hague Conference may become adhering parties.

In the present state of the project, this government is still indisposed to formulate a program. In view of the virtual certainty that the President's suggestion of The Hague as the place of meeting of a second peace conference will be accepted by all the interested powers, and in view also of the fact that an organized representation of the signatories of the acts of 1899 now exists at that capital, this government feels that it should not assume the initiative in drawing up a program nor preside over the deliberations of the signatories in that regard. It seems to the President that the high task he undertook in seeking to bring about an agreement of the powers to meet in a second peace conference is virtually accomplished so far as it is appropriate for him to act, and that, with the general acceptance of his invitation in principle, the future conduct of the affair may fitly follow its normal channels.

To this end it is suggested that the further and necessary interchange of views between the signatories of the acts of 1899 be effected through the international bureau under the control of the permanent Administrative Council of The Hague. It is believed that in this way, by utilizing the central representative agency established and maintained by the powers themselves, an orderly treatment of the preliminary consultations may be insured, and the way left clear for the eventual action of the government of The Netherlands in calling a renewed conference to assemble at The Hague should that course be adopted. You will bring this communication to the knowledge of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and invite consideration of the suggestions herein made. I am, sir, your obedient servant,

JOHN HAY.

The Grounds of our Faith in the Ultimate Triumph of Peace.

Address of Professor Francis G. Peabody at the Thirteenth International Peace Congress, Tremont Temple, Boston, Thursday Evening, October 6, 1904.

Ladies and Gentlemen: The subject of our conference this evening is "The Responsibility of Educators in Creating Right Ideals of International Life," and I am to have the pleasure of presenting to you several speakers of various nationalities who will enter into the details of this intensely interesting question.

Allow me to detain you for a moment with a word concerning the subject in its most general form. There are certainly many aspects of our contemporary life which give to the praise of peace to-day a touch of irony. On the same page of the paper on which are reported the proceedings of one session of this gathering one may read the report of new slaughter in the East and of new battleships at home. And yet, in the face of these apparent obstacles, we maintain an ineradicable faith that the world is moving toward peace.

What possible ground have we for this inextinguishable faith? Partly our sentiment of fraternity and compassion. Yet it is not merely a sentiment which is so persistent and so commanding. Partly the horror of war. Yet the modern man does not fear to fight or to sacrifice for a worthy cause. Partly the amazing effect of a gathering like this or of the Hague Tribunal. Yet it is impossible to weigh these demonstrations as against the weight of the incidents of warfare without a shade of disappointment. The grounds of our faith are not purely sentimental, nor incidental, nor contemporary, but they are rationally reasonable and lie in the emergencies of a new aspect of truth, which it is for educators to enforce and for the educated, first of all, to recognize.

This new aspect of truth which now compels the allegiance of all educated people is of course the sense of unity, of interdependence, of correlation which binds together equally the forces of nature and the destinies of nations. Here is a truth which was first disclosed to men of science in the doctrine of the correlation and the unity of physical force. It was taken over into philosophy in the doctrine of the social organization, the one body with its many members. It was recognized in relation as the East and the West began to touch one another, and we became aware as the world never knew before that God had made of one blood all the nations of the earth. And finally, the statesmen and the politicians discerned, when they were acute enough, that the welfare of one man demanded the welfare of all; that international peace was the foundation of intra-national welfare; that the world, in short, was one world, with its interests not divided, but in common.

This is a truth disclosed to the educated, a truth of academic learning. But more or less imperfectly this great truth of modern education is beginning to enter like an instinct into the habits of mind of the present day, and to a person thus educated in the sense of the unity of the world, what anachronism could be so monstrous as the thought of a divided, fighting, warring world! [Applause.] To the scientific mind such a thought of a divided world is simply unthinkable. To the philosophical mind it is a sheer survival. To the historical mind it is a perversion of human history. And to the religious mind it is simply an insult to the unity of God. [Applause.]

In other words, it is not necessary that education should primarily concern itself with the subject we have in hand, for, whether it will or not, the very processes of education, through their own development and expansion, make irresistible the way we want the world to go. [Applause.] It is one of the most curious facts of modern life that many of the causes which have been much urged in many ways have been suddenly, in our time, reinforced by the new conditions of the world. Take the cause of temperance, for instance, which has been prayed about and preached about, and yet has seemed to move with unjustifiable slowness. In our time, from a wholly unexpected quarter, there has come a help to the cause of temperance,—and whence? From the conditions of modern industry. The very age of the machine has brought with it a new demand for accuracy, sagacity, persistency, sureness of touch and sureness of eye; and these demand thoroughness. And so thousands of factories and railways demand absti-

nence in the name of industry. And it is altogether probable that the most important contribution to the cause of temperance to-day is made—all unconscious of its significance—by the new order of the industrial world. Precisely in the same way the work of education contributes, often unconsciously, yet irresistibly, to the cause of peace, and underneath the movements which we try to advance lies the inevitable advance of the sense of the unity of the world. We give ourselves, therefore, to these underlying currents which we do not create, but to which it is our wisdom to conform. The eddies of the tide may seem to make the other way, but the deeper channels of the thought of the age are moving irresistibly toward the unity of the world.

You remember how, year after year, the Arctic explorers started up the Greenland coast to reach the pole, day after day tramped over the moving ice, and then, at the day's close, found that they had been opposed by a great underlying current that had swept them and the pack of ice beneath them backward, southward, until, at the day's close, they were farther south than when the day began. And then, as you remember, Nansen tried the other way of approach,—from the Siberian end, and gave himself and his ship to the great polar current, and though it seemed to hem him in, it bore him on through weary days and months until at last he was farther North than he had ever hoped to be. That is the kind of underlying movement of intellectual life of the age to which a movement like this entrusts itself, and though we are shut in and shut out and seem bewildered and baffled by the circumstances of the time, the polar current of the movement of thought may carry us farther than ever to-night we dare to dream. [Applause.]

The Neutralization of Zones on the Ocean.

BY EDWARD ATKINSON.

Address at the Thirteenth International Peace Congress, Tremont Temple, Boston, October 5, 1904.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: I have not come here to make a speech or to appeal to your sentiments; I have merely a practical suggestion of a plain business man to submit to you.

The interdependence of nations is becoming the rule; isolation is gone; and this interdependence makes for peace and plenty.

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Having regard mainly to the present conditions of the English-speaking people, but also to the conditions of Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, France, Spain, and Italy, the predatory system of conquest and colonization has about ended. It has imposed excessive cost upon nations without adequate return, and it has not proved to be profitable until after the right of local self-government has been granted to the colonies. Even in Germany, with the growth of intelligence among the masses, a stern resistance is rapidly being developed against the military class which they have not yet been able to overcome and suppress. When their power has been but little more asserted, as it soon will be when the privates in the ranks become fully imbued with the wrongs under which they suffer, the predatory instincts